

A NEW
Tobago on the
T R A D E

Laid open from the Islands of *1769*

T O B A G O, G R A N A D O S,

And others of the Leeward Islands,

T O T H E

S P A N I S H M A I N, in the Kingdom of Peru,

And from

Cape Florida to the Havanna and La Vera Cruz,
in the Kingdom of Mexico.

By a GENTLEMAN who resided many Years
in both Kingdoms.

L O N D O N .

Printed for Mrs. HINXMAN, in Pater-noster Row ; and
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(Price One Shilling.)

T R A D E

to the 21st and 22nd of August 1911.

TO BE USED BY THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

simultaneously with the other. E.A.

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in the Department of Education.

1947



TO THE HONOURABLE

THOMAS HARLEY, Esq;

Member of Parliament, Alderman, and Merchant of the City of LONDON.

S I R,

THE following pages will inform you the interest they have to your favour, they being a revifal of a work formerly dedicated to your predeceffor the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, in the year 1712, by the author, who refided many years at Quito, in the kingdom of Peru in New Spain, whose knowledge in the trade from the South Sea to the Spanifh Weft Indies, by the galleons and flota to the Havannah, at this time require a particular attention to be paid to this work, fince the acquifition of that important conquest by his Majefty's Forces, that being the key to all thofe Spanifh fettlements. I do not pretend to any fhare in the original work; but, from a knowledge of the author's honour and integrity, have given a revifal of this fmall treatife: therefore beg your patronage of it; and if it meets with your approbation, and answer the advantage intended to my country, it will be a particular fatisfaction to him, who has the honour to be,

Honourable S I R,

your moft obedient and

moft humble fervant,

SAMUEL JEMMAT.

To the Most HONOURABLE

R O B E R T,

Earl of OXFORD, and Earl MOR-
TIMER, Lord High Treasurer of
GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

THIS ESSAY, on the Nature and
Methods of carrying on a Trade to the
SOUTH SEA, is humbly inscrib'd, by

Your LORDSHIP'S

most humble and most

obedient servant,

ROBERT ALLEN.



A N
E S S A Y

O N T H E

N A T U R E a n d M E T H O D S

O f c a r r y i n g o n a T R A D E t o t h e

S O U T H - S E A .

other particulars, which can only agree with the aforefaid British expedition.

But as in those days the genius of Europe took another turn, being much involved in wars, and little inclined to trade and new discoveries ; so this new colony came to be entirely slighted, and even so much forgot, that it is a question, Whether Columbus, upon the information he might receive from our histories, or from some hints in ancient poets, or whether merely by the strength of his own reason, was induced to undertake a voyage in quest of a new world ? Certain it is, that he made his proposals first to the court of England ; which being slighted and rejected there, he afterwards went to the Portuguese, and met with the same fate ; and from thence to the court of Spain, where, after a long attendance and solicitation, he obtained a small sum of money, and fitted out three vessels, with which he proceeded, and laid the foundation for such discoveries as have since filled all Europe with immense treasure, wonder, and surprise. America being thus again happily discovered, the fertility of the soil, and the many rich productions of the country, quickly induced the Spaniards to use all their skill and interest to extend their conquest, and secure a propriety in all the countries of this new world, which make up not only the largest, but also the richest part thereof.

Thus

Thus, for instance: On the continent, the Spanish conquests reach from 30 degrees North latitude, to the Streights of Magellan, in the latitude of 65 South; and in many places extend in longitude from sea to sea. Mexico and Terra Firma are washed on the East by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the West by the Pacific Sea. New Granada extends on the East to the river Oronoco, and on the West joins to Peru, which, together with the kingdom of Chili, reaches almost as far as the Magellan Streights, and are bounded on the West by the Pacific Sea; and well provided with many convenient ports and harbours for trade and navigation, as Guayaquil and Callao, which is the port of Lima, Pisco, and Arica, in Peru, &c. and Conception and Baldivia, &c. in Chili. And so industrious have the Spaniards been, that, from Peru and Chili, they have extended their conquests all over the inland country, and particularly by the way of Loz, Charcos, and Paraguay, and along Rio de la Plata, down to Bonafayros, situated near the mouth of the river where it falls into the Atlantic Sea. So that from Carthagená to Bonafayros, there is a communication by land, which extends about 2000 leagues.

This great empire, which includes also all the Spanish islands in the Indies, is governed by twelve real audiencias, or supreme courts

of judicature, which are commonly composed of a president, five or six oidores, and one fiscal, all sent from Old Spain; and before them all sorts of controversies within the limits of each respective province are finally determined. There are also two Viceroyes, viz. the viceroyes of Peru and Mexico, who each preside in the respective audiences of Lima and Mexico: These audiences have many governors and correxidores of particular districts under their jurisdictions, which are all nominated and receive their commissions from Old Spain, but must first be admitted by the real-audiencia, before they can take possession of their respective governments.

It would be more tedious than useful to give a particular and minute description of all the provinces and governments in the Spanish Indies. It may suffice to instance in one of the real-audiences only, to give the reader an idea of the nature of their government, and extent of their territories.

The real-audiencia of Quito, which is one of the middle governments, has under its jurisdiction the provinces of Popayan, Jaen, Villa, Oñtuala, Quito, Latacunga, Riobamba, Chimbo, Guayaquil, Cunca, Loxa, Pastos, and Los Zujcas; those thirteen governors and correxidores have under them several deputy
governors

governors or tenentes of the several cities and towns of their jurisdictions ; and those tenentes have others under them in the small villages of their districts ; as also the Indian governors of those villages or poblos, and the alcaldies or bailiffs of the Indians, that are yearly chosen by them, are likewise under those tenentes.

The Indian governor serves to keep an account of the Indians numbers in his district, and where they are, if gone ; and is accountable to the tenentes for their tributes, as the tenente is to the governor, and the governor to the treasurer of the province.

The governor of Popayan, which is one of the thirteen above-mentioned, has under him the tenentes of Popayan, Calis, Buga, Ancerma, Cartago, Caloto, Citera, Novita, Anchicaja, Babacoas, Patia, Pasto, and Lospastos. Most of which tenentes are men of great consequence and estates, and some have under them above ten thousand Indians, Motallges, Mustis, and others.

Now, the reason why I chuse the real-audience of Quito, and the government of Popayan, to illustrate the nature and extent of the Spanish government in the Indies, is not that they are larger or richer than others, but that they are the nearest places of Peru to be supplied from the coast of Carthagena and
Porto-

Porto-Bello; and likewise, that they lie yet much nearer by several hundreds of leagues, and run much less risk to be supplied from the bay of Gorgona and Guayaquil in the South-Sea, by the English, French, or such other nations, as may think it their interest to trade that way.

The commodities of Mexico or New Spain, are silver and gold, cocheneal, balsams, and divers other medicinal drugs, &c.

The commodities of Terra Firma, Peru and Chili, are, Gold and Silver in vast quantities; costly pearls, emeralds, amethysts, and several other sorts of precious stones, copper, and other metals, bezoar, beconia, wool, cotton, balsam, gums, and several valuable drugs.

The chief embarcaderos, or ports of trade, belonging to this empire, are in the kingdom of Mexico, or New Spain, La Vera Cruz in the North Sea, and Acapulco in the South Sea.

Secondly, Upon the Isthums of Darien is Porto-Bello in the North Sea, and Panama in the South Sea.

Thirdly, Carthagena, d'Lahacha, Comana, &c. in the North Sea, and St. Maria, and several harbours in and about the Gorgona, in the South Sea.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, On the coast of Peru, are the sea-ports Guayaquil, Payta, Truxilla, Callao, or port for Lima, Pisco and Arica, which formerly was the sea-port for Potosi, &c. all in the South Sea.

Fifthly, On the coast of Chili are many good harbours and ports, as St. Jago, La Concepcion, Aranco, Baldivia, Coximbo, &c. all situated in the South Sea.

Sixthly, To the eastward of Chili, and southward of Brazil, lies La Plata, watered by a river of the same name, which takes its rise near the famous mines of Potosi, within the district of the real-audience de los Charcos, and empties itself into the Atlantick Ocean; near the mouth of this river is the famous city of Buenos Ayres, and a little higher up is Assumption, with some other towns for the conveniency of their trade and commerce.

Having thus premised a brief account of the extent of the country, the nature of the government, and the situation of several of the trading ports of the Spanish Indies; I shall now come nearer the point, and shew how the trade to these rich countries was at first managed from Old Spain.

Secondly, By what means other European nations, and in particular England, have
always

always received some considerable share of the profits thereof.

Thirdly, How, and by what means the British share and interest in this trade, is, and has been for some years past, much decayed, and in great danger of being lost: which being duly considered, it is humbly hoped, we shall be the better enabled to judge by what ways and means so beneficial a part of our foreign trade, may most probably again be recovered and improved.

I. The city and sea-port of Cadiz, in the province of Andalusia in Old Spain, being the most conveniently situated for foreign trade, is, and always has been looked upon, as the embarkadero of the Spanish Indies: From the port of Cadiz the galleons and flota set out, and thither they return again loaden with all the riches of the Indies. The flota, which is a smaller number of ships, proceeds directly to La Vera Cruz, the chief sea-port of Mexico, where they supply Mexico with all such European goods as they want, and take in return the effects of that country, and then return to the Havannah, a well fortified city and port on the north-west side of Cuba, and the general rendezvous of the galleons and flota, where they join, and return all together to Old Spain. The galleons arrive first at Carthagena, from whence the Spanish Admiral of the galleons

galleons, sends advice by several vessels to Porto-Bello, and other maritime places, to advise the respective governors of the galleons arrival, and also to supply those parts of the country with goods. The governor of Porto-Bello sends over land to the president of Panama, who sends and proclaims the arrival of the galleons throughout his jurisdiction, in order that the money to be remitted to Spain, may be got ready, and at the same time, sends a ship with the advice of it to Payta, a sea-port town of Peru. She is commonly thirty or forty days on her voyage, and will be above seventy if she were to go to Lima, the sea-breezes being generally contrary. But from Payta they send the packet by land in twelve or fourteen days: The Admiral of the galleons sends also from Carthagena to Santafee, the chief city of the kingdom of New-Granada, from whence dispatches are sent to Popayan, and Antiochia, and Mariquit, and the adjacent provinces, to notify the arrival of the galleons; he also sends a courier over-land to Lima, that sometimes carries the advice there sooner than can be transmitted by the way of Porto-Bello and Payta, tho' the distance by land between Carthagena and Lima be above a thousand leagues.

From Carthagena, the following provinces are supplied with goods, viz. St. Martha,

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Rio d'Lahacha, Venenzula, Andalusia, Paraja, Granada, and Popyan : d'Lahacha, Paraja, Venenzula, and St. Martha, being maritime provinces, are chiefly supplied by vessels by sea. But New-Granada and Popyan, are the most considerable, and are supplied partly by the means of the river Magdalena, and the rest by land-carriage, which greatly enhances the prices of goods at Popayan, St. Affee de Bougota, and other in-land places.

Those large countries which are thus supplied from Carthagena, abound in many places with very rich mines of gold, viz. at Popayan, Antiochia, Citera, Novita, and Barbacoas, some of which yield above two or three castelano's per negro a day, and sometimes in the Lavatories, much more, which is above four or six pieces of eight per man a day. The merchants that come down to Carthagena from St. Affee and Popayan, &c. have many difficulties and dangers to encounter, such as the wild Indians upon the sides of the river Magdalena, and a long and tedious passage up, three weeks or a month, and sometimes much longer, because of the floods, which sometimes overturns their canoes, to the loss of both merchants and goods.

In New Granada are the silver mines of Mariquita, not far from St. Affee, where they coin
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the most of Popayan, Choco, and Antiochea gold, and also the silver of the said mines of Mariquita. In the said kingdom lies the town called Mufa, where the emerald mines are : also the town of Tunjar, from whence comes the Tungar snuff. All which productions, as also great quantities of Peruvian plate, are brought down to Carthagena, either to purchase European goods, or to be sent home by the galleons to Old Spain. There are also great quantities of provisions brought down to Carthagena from the Kingdom of New Granada.

Upon advice of the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena, the viceroy of Peru commands the South Sea galleons to be careened and got ready, commonly within seventy days, or thereabouts ; and at the same time sends to the kingdom of Chili, and provinces, of los Charcos, Guamango, Cuzco, Aricipa and Quito, and all the other provinces, ordering them to get in readiness all the king's money ; and that all the merchants with their money and other effects, may be in readiness to embark against such a day, that the South Sea galleons will be ready to sail for Panama. All which is accordingly done, and every body endeavours to send some adventure to the fair that is to be held at Porto-Bello, which has formerly been the greatest in the world.

Lima, the metropolis of the kingdom of Peru, is two leagues from the sea, and lies in the latitude 12 South; the embarcadero or Sea-port for it, is called the Callao, which consists of about five or six hundred houses, and a fortification, and a good garrison, and a general commonly sent from Old Spain. The city of Lima is the best peopled with white men of any in that kingdom: It never rains upon the coast of Peru; notwithstanding, they have plenty of every thing; the city is vastly rich, and is inclosed with a wall. It is the place of the residence of the vice king, the real audience, the archbishop, and many other inferior ministers and tribunals, both ecclesiastical and secular, as in Old Spain. In this city there is also a mint house, where most of the silver and gold from all parts of the kingdom of Peru is coined. At the Callao lies the armado of the South Sea, which consists now of three ships, viz. the admiral of forty-four guns, the rear-admiral of thirty-six, and the Patache of twenty-eight guns; they have also belonging to this port some Pereago's, and some coasting vessels, and merchants ships, and galleons; most of which are built at Guyaquil in the province of Quito, and never trade any where but in the South Sea, along the coast of Peru and Chili, and to and from Panama and Mexico.

These

These South Sea galleons being ready and loaded with immense treasure, belonging to the king and the merchants, and the great men of Peru and Chili, and also upon several charitable accounts, at the day appointed, they take their departure from Callao, and make the best of their way for Payta, where they wood and water, and are joined by the Navio del Oro, which carries the money, and other merchandises from the province of Quito and adjacent countries; and from thence they all sail for Panama.

By the time, or before, the South Sea galleons arrive at Panama, the Old Spain galleons having first supplied all the countries adjacent to Carthagena, and deposited the product of what they disposed of there until their return, put to sea again, and make the best of their way to Porto-Bello, which is about eighty leagues; and upon their arrival there the South Sea merchants come from Panama, and bring their gold and silver, and other most valuable commodities down the river Chagrie to meet them at Porto-Bello; then the fair at Porto-Bello begins, and the merchants and factors interested in the Old Spain galleons, dispose of their main cargoes to the Peruvian merchants, which in money and goods was never known to be less than thirty or forty millions, who carry over land, or up the river Chagrie, their commodities to Panama, and there

load them on board the South Sea galleons, and other vessels; and as soon as the fair is ended return again to Callao, as also the other merchant ships to their respective ports. And by such means only, all the provinces of Peru and Chili were formerly supplied with such Spanish and other European goods as are vendable, and in demand with them.

So soon as the fair at Porto-Bello is ended, the Old Spain galleons, with all their treasures put on board them by the king's officers, and private persons, and also the produce of the goods sold at the fair, return to Carthagena, and there take in such treasures and commodities as they left at their departure from thence: and having thus disposed of all their cargoes, and being now full and richly laden, from Carthagena, they go directly to the Havannah to join the flota from La vera Cruz; and being both there, they take their departure altogether from the Havannah, and make the best of their way to Cadiz, the port of Old Spain, from whence they first set out; and from thence their treasure, and all their other rich commodities, are quickly dispersed over all Spain, and most other countries of Europe besides.

This is a true account of the policy and methods used by the Spaniards in carrying
on

on their West India trade; and as a farther security, by their constitution both in Old Spain and in the Indies, all other nations are prohibited under the severest penalties, to trade on their coasts, or in any of their ports in the Indies. By which means they hoped to engross and secure all the riches of those large and flourishing kingdoms intirely to themselves.

But such is the shortness of human views, that the vast extent and riches of this new discovered world, so elated and puffed up the pretended proprietors, that they soon gave themselves up to so much pride and sloth, that not being able to supply the demands of such large kingdoms with the manufactures of their own country, they brought themselves under a necessity of purchasing very large quantities of all sorts of manufactures, of other nations, more industrious than themselves, which they transported to their Indies in their own galleons, and in return paid for those manufactures in gold and silver. So that in effect, the Spaniards, from a principle of pride, fell so low, as to be mostly the carriers and labourers for other nations which supplied them with manufactures, and had the honour to bring home immense quantities of gold and silver to Old Spain, to be privately exported again, and paid away in exchange for such goods and manufactures.

Hence

Hence arose the greatest and most beneficial part of our Spanish trade; for our English merchants perceiving that they could not with any safety trade directly to the Spanish West-Indies, settled correspondents at Cadiz, and employed Spanish factors, to whom they consigned great quantities of our manufactures, which factors went in the galleons, and sold the said manufactures, and brought back the returns in their own names, which, upon their return to Old Spain, they found means to remit privately to their principals in England: And though the indulto or duty laid upon all goods exported from Old Spain to the Indies, as also upon all returns from the Indies, was considerable, and commissions ran high, and the trade itself liable to accidents, as mortality, factors breaking in the Indies, &c. the risque of exporting gold and silver from Old-Spain; I say, tho' all those obstacles and discouragements lay in the way, yet the profits of this trade were so considerable, that great quantities of our manufactures were yearly exported, and proportionable sums of gold and silver remitted to England; which greatly tended to enrich this kingdom, as well as the industrious merchants concerned in that trade. Others, who were unwilling to run such hazards, and would be contented with less profits, sold their goods at Cadiz to Spanish merchants at a moderate advance, and left them

them to send them to the Indies on their own account and risk.

In the time of the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, we got possession of the island of Jamaica, and for several years after the inhabitants there were for the most part employed in plundering the Spaniards both by sea and land: this in a great measure lasted till the reign of the late King James, that the Spanish ambassador at London complained to the king of such ill usage: upon which the king sent orders with the governor that was then going to that island, commanding him to call in all the privateers, and that they should make restitution to the Spaniards, of such effects as had been taken from them. When the governor arrived at Jamaica, he sent to the several Spanish ports, to let them know, that if they would come to that island, they should have all their effects that could be found, restored to them. Upon which declaration, several of the Spaniards came to Jamaica, and had their ships and cargoes restored to them; upon this, the people of Jamaica became acquainted with the Spaniards of those parts, and continued to keep a correspondence and small trade with them, and they with us, for provisions mostly, and some few dry goods and negroes by stealth. And much about the same time Sir James Castile, of Jamaica, agreed with the Assiento to supply them with

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negroes

negroes ; which, while continued, turned to a very good account.

Having thus found the way, and tasted of the sweets of the Spanish trade, from Jamaica, the Jamaica merchants and factors endeavoured to improve it with all possible diligence and application ; notwithstanding the Spanish galleons came in those days regularly once in two or three years, and supplied all that country with Spanish governors and European goods. But as our merchants could afford to sell their goods from Jamaica much cheaper than the Spaniards in the galleons could do, they being obliged to pay all the duties both in Old Spain and the Indies, as above-mentioned, and our goods from Jamaica being free from such duties. Interest, the true loadstone of all merchants, brought the Spaniards in those parts, to come and trade with our vessels in the private creeks ; where our vessels commonly lay to trade with them. Thus was a very advantageous trade carried on for several years by stealth, on both sides, our ships being obliged to trade in the private creeks for fear of being taken by the Spanish guard-ships on that coast, in which case they would have been good prize, and the Spaniards themselves being obliged to trade with us with all possible secrecy for fear of being discovered by the guards, set on purpose to watch the coast, and incurring the penalties

penalties of their own laws, in case of discovery, which are very severe, though at the same time many of those guards come themselves and buy our goods.

But that which most of all favoured this Jamaica trade, was the galleons not coming from Old Spain, as had been usual for nine or ten years together, viz. from the taking of Carthagena by Monsieur Ponti, Anno Domini 1697, until the year 1706; for the Spaniards, during that interval of time, receiving few or no supplies from Old Spain, and at the same time many of them coming down with their money and other commodities, under pretence of waiting for the arrival of the galleons, they took their opportunities, and supplied themselves privately from our vessels, and by such means the merchants and factors at Jamaica drove a very considerable clandestine trade all along the coast from Rio de la Hacha to Chagrie, besides some small trade which they also carried on to Mexico, Cuba and Hispaniola; but the largest and most beneficial part of that trade was carried on within the aforesaid limits, on the coast of Porto-Bello and Carthagena, those places being the ports from whence all the kingdoms of Peru, Chili and New Granada were supplied, and whereof our merchants had then a very considerable

share, to the very great advantage of their mother kingdom.

In this period of time Jamaica flourished and abounded more in Spanish gold and silver than ever it did before, or is like to do again, and the consumption of many sorts of British manufactures which found a vent this way at very advantageous prices, and the liberty we had of contracting with, and supplying the Spanish Asiento with slaves, which we sold to them sometimes at 150 pieces of eight, and upwards, per head, are such material articles in our trade, and so well deserve to be considered, that I hope I may be allowed to go on, and shew how the channel of this trade is now quite altered, and that we neither do, nor can supply the Spaniards with such quantities of dry goods and negroes from Jamaica, as hitherto we have done. And then, lastly, to shew how those losses and inconveniences may be remedied, or at least ballanced with respect to Great Britain, by opening and carrying on a trade to the South Seas, as the only way to contend with a late, but very potent rival, and also retrieve the share and interest we have, by too long neglect, lost in so very valuable a trade.

As to the slave trade, it is too well known, that the French are now under contract with the Spanish Asiento to supply them with four
or

or five thousand negroes yearly; and the great profits and advantages which they reap from this trade, has encouraged them to send many strong ships yearly to the coast of Africa, which have not only taken many of our slave ships on that coast, but also destroyed several of our forts and settlements, and likewise made several new settlements of their own, all which has been frequently represented both to the governing and legislative powers of Britain, and no effectual reconciling remedy taken as yet. But it is not to be doubted, but that the importance and very great advantages of this trade, will induce this present parliament to settle it in such a method as that there may be no more divisions, but an unanimous agreement for the future, in order to retrieve passed losses.

I return from this, to shew how the channel of the Spanish trade is quite altered from Jamaica, and that the French, a nation whom we least suspected in trade, have of late years ingrossed much the greatest part thereof to themselves.

As to the consumption of our manufactures, I have already observed, That the kingdoms of Peru and Chili were wont to be supplied with all sorts of European goods by the way of Porto Bello and Panama, and that the kingdom of Mexico was also supplied

plied from La Vera Cruz. But since the intrusion of the duke of Anjou into the monarchy of Spain, and the commencement of the present war, and for some time before, the French being apprised of the importance and advantages of a Spanish West India trade, have used all their skill and interest to ingross it mostly to themselves.

As to the trade of Mexico, the French have made a very considerable settlement near that coast, at a place called St. Bernard, or St. Lewis's bay, and from thence drive a very great trade with the Mexicans; they also trade to Cuba; and Hispaniola is almost all their own; they have also contracted with the Affiento at Carthagena and Porto-Bello, &c. and in pursuance thereof, transport great quantities of negroes to those places, as likewise to Rio de la Plata; all which they sell at very high prices, and are well paid for in gold and silver, and other rich commodities.

Nor have the French contented themselves to engross those branches of the Spanish trade in the North Seas; but to complete the work, and the more effectually to ruin the British trade from Jamaica, and even from Old Spain itself, they have, since the year 1700, introduced a trade to the South Sea, and supplied the Spaniards all along the coast of Chili
and

and Peru at their own doors with all those several sorts of goods and manufactures, which formerly they were obliged to come and purchase at Carthagena and Porto-Bello, and other places along that coast. By this means the French have entirely altered the course of the trade of the Spanish West Indies; for ever since the year 1700, they have continued sending ships laden with all sorts of goods and merchandize to the South Sea; insomuch, that there has been fifteen sail of merchantmen there at once, and two of the king's ships of seventy odd guns each, and the immense treasures they have brought from thence has not a little contributed to the support of the present war against us: this is so well known, that in the news-papers we have, from time to time, had it published how many millions they have brought, and are daily bringing from the South Sea.

The merchants of Peru that used to have all their goods by the way of Porto-Bello and Panama, being aware of the consequences of such a trade from France, and especially, that they would be disabled from trading to and from Old Spain by the way of Porto-Bello and Panama: upon the proclamation of the last galleons at Lima in the year 1706, the commerce of Peru expressed an unwillingness to go to the fair of Porto-Bello, unless the vice-roy would engage in the king's name, that there should

should be no innovation in the indultoes, or duties of six per cent. upon their silver and other commodities, and the half per cent. upon their gold, by the president of Panama, or deputies of the commerce of Old Spain; and also that he would take all due care to prevent the French from trading on those coasts, which they were very jealous of. All which, the vice-roy promised should effectually be done according to their desire. Upon this condition, the merchants of Peru embarked in the South Sea galleons, and other merchant ships with all their treasure: but upon their arrival at Panama, the president did notwithstanding endeavour to lay new duties upon them, but did not obtain his end. So they proceeded by land to Porto-Bello to the fair, where the Old Spain galleons lay waiting for them; at the same time the English and Dutch had a very great trade at the Bastimentos, a place distant from Porto-Bello about two leagues, where our vessels, sometimes to the number of about twenty, small and great, with their convoys, traded with the Spaniards: for those people that had come from Peru, &c. were more willing to buy from the English or Dutch, that could afford their goods cheaper than the merchants of Old Spain could do, after their having paid all the duties before-mentioned. And thus by accident, we carried on a very great trade with the Spaniards from Jamaica, which was partly owing to the assurances the

vice-

the vice-king had given to the merchants of Peru, that he would put a stop to the French trade in those parts; upon which they ventured to come to the fair, and our Jamaica merchants happily came in for a share of the trade. But whether they may reasonably hope for the like opportunity again, so long as the French drive that trade, will appear anon.

The first French ships that went into the South Sea, were commanded by Monsieur de Beauharne, who, upon her arrival at Pisco, a sea-port a little to the southward of Lima, writ a letter to the Count d'Monclova, then vice-king of Peru, and made his court to him, under pretence of being commissioned and sent by the French King into those seas to look for English or other pirates; and with the letter sent a copy of his said commission, which was wrote in the Latin tongue.

To which the Count d'Monclova, in a letter dated from Lima, May the 18th, 1700, answered to this effect:

“ That he found nothing in the said com-
 “ mission that impowered him to come into
 “ those seas; that he had no advice nor order
 “ from the king his lord, upon the motives
 “ he said brought him thither; that there
 “ was no precedent, that his majesty had ever
 “ given licence, or permitted any ships of
 E “ princes

“ princes in amity with him, to pass, or sail
 “ in them; and that they had laws and cus-
 “ toms indispensable, ever since the conquest
 “ of those dominions, to prohibit all other
 “ nations from coming into them. And there-
 “ fore he advised him, that he would with all
 “ speed return to the ports of France, from
 “ whence he came; since in the ports of
 “ those kingdoms there was no reason or cause
 “ to dispense with the orders he had given.”

This was the substance of the Count de
 Monclova's answer. And upon the receipt
 thereof Monsieur de Beauharné wrote another
 letter to the vice-king, dated from on board
 his ship at Pisco, May 22, 1700, wherein he
 tells him, “ That his commission being a ge-
 “ neral order, it was not necessary to insert any
 “ clause concerning the South Seas in it; but
 “ that it was in his particular instructions
 “ that as to the laws and customs of this king-
 “ dom, these being the first vessels of France
 “ that had ever been there, he did not un-
 “ derstand them; but would regulate himself
 “ by the treaties of peace, and give an ac-
 “ count of such things to the court; and
 “ finally, that since his coming there could
 “ be of no use to that kingdom, he would
 “ return to France so soon as possible, after
 “ having provided himself with some wood
 “ and water, and other provisions that he
 “ wanted: and that he had taken two hun-
 “ dred

“dred jars of brandy from a Spanish ship,
 “but had paid for it ten pieces of eight each,
 “which he hoped his excellency would not
 “take amiss.”

Notwithstanding the severity of the Count de Monclova's letter, the Spaniards found ways to come privately, and buy from those two French ships all their cargoes; and the very extraordinary advantages which they made upon their return, was an immediate inducement for other ships with vast cargoes of goods from France to go into those seas, and have ever since continued in the same. The original copies of those letters in Spanish, I have by me; the dates and contents of them is clear demonstration, that the French first undertook that trade without any previous contract or permission from Spain, and that interest only has induced the Spaniards to trade with them.

If the merchants and traders of Peru and Chili can be supplied with such goods as they want much cheaper at their own doors from the French ships, than they can be from Carthagena and Porto-Bello, over vast tracts of land, or by the South Sea galleons, it is evident they will contrive all ways, and even run some risk, to encourage such a trade. This, as it is highly reasonable to believe, so it is confirmed by experience; as appears by the following paragraphs taken out of several let-

ters from merchants at Lima to their friends at Panama, and other places, giving an account of the state of the trade of Peru at that time.

In one dated Lima, June 11, 1708, by a merchant that had been at the fair, who upon his return to Lima with such goods as he bought at the fair, writes as follows to his correspondent,

“ I am sorry that I missed making a good
 “ market both for you and myself, which
 “ I believe we shall never have an opportunity to do again; because of the great discouragement occasioned by the French
 “ ships, that if one did not see it, he could not
 “ believe it; for they omit no sort of goods,
 “ that you can think of. Some days past here
 “ arrived one of the Most Christian King's
 “ ships of seventy guns, which came in company with another of the same force, for
 “ to carry home the donative that was gathered here for our king; those three merchant ships that were at Pisco came to the
 “ Callao to them; under pretence to careen,
 “ they have put a considerable quantity of
 “ goods ashore, and some of our people
 “ have bought of them, to the value of a million of peices of eight. It is publicly said,
 “ that the viceroy might remedy it, if he
 “ pleased; but it is believed, he is concerned
 “ in

" in it with them. Certain it is, that our
 " king is much prejudiced by it ; for he is de-
 " frauded of his fifths. Nor is there any mo-
 " ney in the mint nor treasury to pay the mi-
 " nistry or garrisons ; not but that the mines
 " yield as usual ; but they carry it directly to
 " the French. The price of goods falls dai-
 " ly, because of the French, and what comes
 " from Panama. I pity the poor Peruvians
 " that have bought at the fair, for they must
 " be ruined by the French."

In another, from another hand, dated Lima,
 June 12, 1708, is as follows :

" Concerning news, the galleonists, or
 " Peruvian merchants at Panama, will inform
 " you at large by their letters, how the ruin
 " of this kingdom is now approaching ; the
 " principal cause being the continual arrival
 " of French ships into those seas. There is
 " hardly a month in the year but we have fresh
 " ships from France, and now there are four
 " arrived in the Callao, two leagues from this
 " city ; three of them came under the charge
 " of Julian Fouquet, all full of goods ; and
 " the other is of seventy-four guns, belonging
 " to the Most Christian King, which likewise
 " brings a very considerable cargo of bulky
 " goods, and all with a great deal of conven-
 " cy. Now consider in this case, what
 " voyage the poor galleonists will make that
 " went

“ went down to the fair ; they will certainly
 “ be ruined and undone for ever. But not-
 “ withstanding all this, those disloyal villains
 “ that trade with them, will have no pity till
 “ they see the last ruin and overthrow of the
 “ commerce, that cannot in natural reason last
 “ many years longer. God in his infinite mer-
 “ cy look down upon us, since such disloyal
 “ villains will not enter into the knowledge
 “ of it, and send us peace.”

I could transcribe paragraphs out of many
 many more private letters, all to the same pur-
 pose ; which clearly prove, that the French, by
 carrying on a trade to the South Sea, and sel-
 ling their goods at easier rates to the Spa-
 niards of Peru at their own doors, than the
 South Sea galleons can afford them at, have
 quite altered the channel of that trade ; that
 they have totally discouraged the trade by the
 way of Porto-Bello and Panama ; and conse-
 quently, from Old Spain and Jamaica : And
 finally, that this great and beneficial trade,
 which the French now drives in these seas, is
 not carried on by, nor founded upon contract
 or agreement between the two nations ; but
 merely upon the principles of interest and con-
 veniency, which we see by experience has in-
 duced the merchants and inhabitants of Peru
 and Chili to trade with them.

And

And as the French have thus altered the course of the trade from Europe; so they have likewise ruined the manufactures of Peru: for whereas many thousands of Indians were wont to be employed in making several sorts of coarse cotton, and woollen manufactures, whereby they carried on a very considerable trade from one province to another there, and were enabled to pay their tributes, the French do now carry such great quantities of those coarse manufactures, amongst their other more valuable commodities, and sell them so cheap there, that the native Indians, who cannot afford to work so cheap, are quite discouraged and disabled either to make their usual manufactures, or pay their customary tributes; so that now, I am of the opinion, That as almost every province has mines in it, and all the governors make great profits of the tribute paid by the Indians, that the respective governors will make the Indians that were formerly employed in manufactures, apply themselves altogether to discover and work in the mines; which will not only greatly increase the species of gold and silver, but also occasion a far greater demand for such coarse manufactures from Europe than has ever been known. The reason why quantities of such coarse manufactures were never sent from Old Spain, is, that they were bulky, and would not answer the charge; but being
directly

directly carried into the South Sea, and sold cheaper than the Indians can afford to make them, we may have double the demand for European goods, and double the quantity of gold and silver in return, if the Indians betake themselves altogether to the mines.

Such being the state and condition of the French trade, with regard to the Spanish West Indies, I appeal to all impartial judges, Whether it be possible to contend with the French, or recover the very great share and interest we used to have in that trade by the way of Old Spain and Jamaica, any other way than by commencing and vigorously prosecuting a trade to the South Seas; and that such a trade may with safety and advantage be carried on, I shall only offer three reasons, viz.

First, The authority and encouragement of parliament, and all the assistance which can reasonably be expected from her Majesty, and those in authority under her, to whom this trade has appeared of so great benefit and importance, that no encouragements or assurances will be wanting for the accomplishment of so great and good a design.

Secondly, The great prices which we may vend our goods and manufactures at in those parts: thus English cloth, valued here at 7 s. per

per yard, is sold there for 7 pieces of eight per yard; bays at 5 pieces of eight, per yard, and all other commodities in proportion. And as Great Britain abounds with most sorts of goods and manufactures, and can afford to undersell the French in most of them, it gives us a very sure prospect of advantage and success in such an undertaking.

Thirdly, The interest of the Spaniards, who are known to trade with the French not out of love to them, but because they supply them with goods cheaper than otherwise they can get them. And if we trade thither, and will supply them yet cheaper, or even upon equal terms, it is not to be doubted, but that we shall out-do the French in those parts of the world, as we have already done in most other parts, to the great benefit and advantage of the adventurers, and the honour and good of Great Britain.

For it is morally certain, that as interest induced the Spaniards to trade in English manufactures from Cadiz, and to pay for them in gold and silver, contrary to the laws of Spain, and as interest brought the West Indies to trade with our vessels from Jamaica, notwithstanding all the laws and prohibitions of the Indies, and as interest has induced the merchants of Peru and Chili, &c. to trade with the French contrary to the ancient con-

F

stitutions

stitutions of those kingdoms, so may we rest assured, that the same powerful motives of interest and advantage will induce the Spaniards to trade with us rather than the French, if we can use them well, and afford them better penny-worths.

Other reasons might be given, and proposals made, for the encouragement and security of a trade to the South Sea; but as it would be improper to advance any proposals in public, which may require secrecy in execution, I shall conclude with my hearty wishes for the success of so good an undertaking, and shall be very glad if these papers are found any ways serviceable to that end.

Manufactures and Commodities proper for the
SOUTH-SEA TRADE.

B ROAD Cloth.	Gold, Silver, and Silk Ribbons.
Stuffs, Druggets, Bays, with all sorts of Woollen Manufactures.	Galloon, Gold Lace and Buttons.
Stockings of all sorts.	Bees-wax.
Brocades.	Cinnamon, Saffron, and all sorts of spices.
Velvets and Plush.	Wrought Iron of several sorts, and in bars.
Hats white and black.	Steel and Brass Work of several sorts.
Silk, wrought and raw.	

Lace

and fine Thread	Wrought Pewter.
all sorts.	Paper, Quills, and
Beads.	Wax.
der Blue.	Cordage of all sizes,
es of all sorts.	&c.
, Small Arms.	Clocks and Watches,
lins, Linens, and	and all other curi-
allicoos of all sorts.	osities.
dles, Buckles, and	
her Hard Ware	
fundry kinds.	

B. If Queen Anne, at the treaty of Utrecht, obtained so valuable a branch of trade as the Affiento contract, by the successes of the Duke of Marlborough alone, which, according to stipulation, was for two millions slaves annually, but doubly augmented under that contract, in other goods (tho' given up by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, with our right of logwood) how much more ought we to insist on valuable terms since the reduction of Cuba, the key to the vast South Sea trade?

F I N I S.

